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ABSTRACT

Marriage, childbearing, and employment patterns of women initially surveyed during their entrance to college in 1961 and subsequently surveyed in 1965, 1971, and 1974-5 were investigated. Subjects were questioned on marital status, number and timing of children in the family, employment patterns and shifts, job search patterns, preferred housework and employment activities, and, where applicable, reasons for not working. Results indicate that: (1) being married was associated with relatively high job satisfaction; (2) less than 33% of the married women and over 80% of the single women were employed full-time; (3) employed married women were more career-and achievement-oriented and reported higher levels of intellectual and social self-confidence than unemployed married women; and (4) only a small minority of married women indicated that marriage was an obstacle to their current employment. (Author/HLM)

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WOMEN: MARRIAGE, CAREER, AND JOB SATISFACTION

By ANN STOUFFER BISCONTI

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INTRODUCTION

Marriage and career are typically viewed, in both popular and scientific literature, as essentially opposing forces. Even when objective questions, such as "What are the effects of early marriage on career development?" or "What are the effects of women's employment on marital satisfaction?", are posed, there is generally the implicit expectation that the findings will show either a negative effect or none at all. Such expectations reflect not only popular thinking but also the body of research to date that indicates that early marriage does lower educational aspirations and attainment among both women and men, that marriage and childbearing limit the participation of women in the work force, and that women who are strongly career-oriented struggle with role conflicts regarding their pursuit of marriage and career (Bayer, 1969, 1972; Waldman, 1970; Fogarty et al, 1971; Rossi, 1972).

Consequently, researchers engaged in a study of work patterns and job satisfaction of college graduates for the CPC Foundation were not surprised to find that marriage and children seemed to place constraints on career progress for some individuals. For some women, it led to absence from the work force, and, for both men and women, marriage appeared to be an obstacle to graduate study and to limit mobility. However, they were intrigued by a finding that employed respondents who were married were more satisfied with their jobs than those who were single and that this finding was observed among both women and men. Could the effects of marriage on some aspect of career be not negative or neutral but positive?

The special analyses reported here were undertaken to investigate further the questions raised by the first findings as they pertain to women. Why do some married women graduates leave the work force; is being married and bearing children really a constraint? What are the backgrounds and future plans of those who work and those who leave the work force? What characteristics are associated with combining marriage and career? What accounts for the greater job satisfaction of married women? Does being married contribute independently or are married persons more likely than others to achieve career success or to possess traits associated with job satisfaction?

THE DATA

The primary data reported here were collected in Winter 1974-75 by the Higher Education Research Institute (Los Angeles) through a survey of baccalaureates that was sponsored jointly by the National Institute of Education and the CPC Foundation. The respondents had been surveyed initially in 1961 at the time they entered college. They were later followed up in 1965 and 1971. All surveys were part of the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP), initiated and directed by Alexander W. Astin and housed at the University of California at Los Angeles and the American Council on Education. The tables in this special report are based on responses of individuals who had received a bachelor's but no higher degree by 1974-75. The numbers in the primary analysis groups are as follows:

	Women				Men
	Employed Full-time	Employed Part-time	Not Employed	Total	Employed Full-time
Married	571	373	1,382	2,326	2,510
Separated, divorced, widowed	121	9	23	153	121
Single	342	14	37	393	378
Total	1,034	396	1,442	2,872	3,009

Some supplementary background information is drawn from findings of previous CIRP surveys.

(For earlier reports of findings from the 1974-75 survey, see Bisconti and Solmon, 1976 and 1977.)

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE STUDY

WOMEN WHO ENTERED BACCALAUREATE-GRANTING INSTITUTIONS IN THE U.S. IN FALL 1961:

- Between four and five years after college entry, nearly two-thirds of the women were working full-time; five years later less than half held full-time jobs.

- The decline in work force participation by these college-educated women lagged three years behind the peak year of marriage but corresponded with the peak year for childbearing.

WOMEN IN THIS SAME CLASS WHO HELD A BACHELOR'S DEGREE IN 1975:

- 29% of the married women and 83% of the single women were employed full-time.

- Almost all those not employed in 1975 had worked previously; 5% were seeking work and 48% definitely planned to seek work in the future.

- Only a small minority of married women indicated that marriage was an obstacle to their current employment; just 11% of the spouses discouraged employment.

- 93% of the married women were "involved voluntarily" in home or child care and two-thirds did not want to be working at present. However, one-third did want to work, and many of these women chose to stay at home despite their interest in employment.

- Academically, married women who worked and those who did not work were very similar. However, employed married women were more career and achievement-oriented and reported higher levels of intellectual and social self-confidence.

WOMEN IN THIS SAME CLASS WHO HELD A BACHELOR'S DEGREE IN 1975 AND WERE WORKING FULL-TIME:

- Being married was associated with relatively high job satisfaction: 59% of married women were very satisfied, compared with 48% of single women; and 61% of married men compared with 40% of single men.

- The difference in level of job satisfaction between married and unmarried women was most pronounced among those in the lowest salary range and among those with lowest drive to achieve. (Similar patterns were observed among men.)

DETAILED FINDINGS

Marriage and Childbearing Patterns

Although marriage and family are thought of as woman's goals, national samples of freshmen women and men, year after year, indicate that marriage and career are among their most important life goals. Among the 1974 freshmen, 53% of the men and 57% of the women rated raising a family essential or very important (Astin et al., 1974).

By five years after college entry, more than six out of ten women and almost half the men college-goers had married. This pattern was observed in previous national follow-up surveys of both the 1961 and 1966 freshmen classes (Table 1). The modal or most popular year for marriage was four years after college entry, a time that, for many, corresponded with graduation. By ten years after college entry, 88% of women and 85% of men in the 1961 class were married.

Table 1

TIMING OF FIRST MARRIAGES OF COLLEGE-GOING MEN AND WOMEN[a/]
(In Percentages)

	1961 FRESHMEN (Marriages During Ten-year Span)		*1966 FRESHMEN (Marriages During Five-year Span)*	
FIRST YEAR MARRIED	*WOMEN*	*MEN*	*WOMEN*	*MEN*
Before college entry	1	1	3	2
Year of college entry	2	1	1	1
One year later	5	3	6	3
Two years later	10	5	11	6
Three years later	12	9	13	11
Four years later	21	16	17	14
Five years later	14	14	10	11
Percent married by five years from college entry	65	49	61	48
Six years later	9	11		
Seven years later	6	9		
Eight years later	4	7		
Nine years later	2	5		
Ten years later	2	4		
Percent married by ten years from college entry	88	85		

[a/] *Re-arranged from El-Khawas and Bisconti, 1974, Table 25. Data are weighted to represent all who entered bachelor's-degree-granting institutions in the U.S. in 1961 and all postsecondary institutions in 1966.*

The data for the 1961 class as a whole show that, although women married somewhat earlier than their male classmates, they had children at just about the same time: about one-third of both sexes had a child by four years from college entry (Table 2). Unpublished data from the 1971 follow-up survey indicate more women than men had college-educated spouses. One may speculate that many of these women's spouses were completing studies or just starting in their careers during the early years of marriage, and that this relatively unsettled situation, coupled with financial constraints, caused these women to postpone childbearing.

Table 2

TIMING OF CHILDBEARING OF COLLEGE-GOING WOMEN AND MEN (1961 FRESHMEN)
(In Percentages)

YEARS CHILDREN WERE BORN (Number of Years After College Entry	*WOMEN*	*MEN*
Four or less	37	32
Five to seven	64	57
Eight	42	41
Nine	35	33
Ten	37	37

Unpublished data from 1971 follow-up survey of 1961 freshmen, weighted to represent all who entered bachelor's-degree-granting institutions in the United States.

Employment Patterns

Between the fourth and fifth years after college entry, while the majority of their male classmates were completing their studies and only about a third were working full-time, nearly two-thirds of the women in the 1961 freshman class as a whole held full-time jobs (El-Khawas and Bisconti, 1974). The gradual decline in participation of baccalaureate women in the work force began seven years after college entry--three years after the peak year of marriage but during the peak period for childbearing. The more recent (1975) survey of baccalaureates found that, by ten years after college entry, only 29% of the married women were employed full-time, compared with 83% of those who were single (Table 3). Another 12% of married women and 5% of single women worked part-time. These figures remained essentially unchanged during the next four years, although, by fourteen years after college entry, slightly more married women were working part-time and slightly fewer full-time. The major change between 1971 and 1975, seen in Table 3, is the increased participation in the work force of women who were separated, divorced, or widowed.

If Table 3 suggests a static employment picture, this impression is misleading. Over one-fourth of the baccalaureate women changed employment status between 1971 and 1975. Among those who were married, 15% entered the work force (5% full-time and 10% part-time) and 13% left the work force (Table 4). However, the most substantial group of married women comprised those who checked "housewife" as their primary status in 1971 and still did not hold jobs in 1975. An opposite pattern was observed for the previously married and single women.

Table 3

EMPLOYMENT STATUS TEN AND FOURTEEN YEARS AFTER COLLEGE ENTRY, BY MARITAL STATUS[a] (Baccalaureate Women)
(In Percentages)

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	*MARRIED*	*SEPARATED, DIVORCED, WIDOWED*	*SINGLE*
Ten Years After College Entry:			
Employed full-time	29	58	83
Employed part-time	12	12	5
Not Employed	59	30	12
Fourteen Years After College Entry:			
Employed full-time	25	80	87
Employed part-time	18	7	4
Not Employed	57	13	9

[a] *In this and subsequent tables, unless otherwise indicated, the status shown is that reported at the time of the 1974-75 survey of baccalaureates from the 1961 freshman class.*

Table 4

SHIFTS IN EMPLOYMENT STATUS BETWEEN TEN AND FOURTEEN YEARS AFTER COLLEGE ENTRY, BY MARITAL STATUS (Baccalaureate Women)
(In Percentages)

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	*MARRIED*	*SEPARATED, DIVORCED, WIDOWED*	*SINGLE*
Employed full-time in 1975	25	80	87
Employed in 1971	*20*	*60*	*79*
Housewife in 1971	*4*	*14*	*0*
Student or unemployed in 1971	*1*	*6*	*8*
Employed part-time in 1975	18	8	4
Employed in 1971	*8*	*5*	*3*
Housewife in 1971	*10*	*2*	*0*
Student or unemployed in 1971	*	*1*	*1*
Not employed in 1975	57	13	9
Employed in 1971	*13*	*5*	*6*
Housewife in 1971	*42*	*6*	*0*
Student or unemployed in 1971	*2*	*2*	*3*

**Less than half a percent.*

Table 5

EMPLOYMENT AND JOB SEARCH PATTERNS (Baccalaureate Women Not Employed)
(In Percentages)

PLANS TO SEEK JOB	TOTAL	LAST TIME HELD A JOB: WITHIN PAST 3 MONTHS	4-12 MONTHS AGO	OVER A YEAR AGO	NEVER
Currently seeking job	5	1	1	3	0
Will seek job:					
Within a year	6	1	2	3	*
Within 1-5 years	32	1	3	27	1
After 5 years	10	*	1	9	*
Uncertain when will seek job	39	1	2	34	2
Never will seek job	8	*	*	7	1
Total	100	4	9	83	4

**Less than half a percent.*

Almost all the currently non-employed women baccalaureates had held a job at some time in the past, and well over half could be expected to return to work some day. (Table 5). Five percent were currently seeking work, and 48% had definite plans to seek work at a later date--6% within a year, 32% within 1-5 years, and 10% after five years. Only 8% felt certain that they would never take a job, while 39% were uncertain.

These expectations are fairly consistent with women's earlier preferences regarding the housewife and career roles. The large majority had responded in 1971 that they preferred to combine these roles in some way (Table 6). Only 15% of the married baccalaureate women and 10% of other women preferred only the housewife role with no employment. About half of all women indicated a preference for regular employment now or in the near future. Consistent with their plans, the majority of married women who preferred regular employment also preferred to start this employment after a few years devoted exclusively to being a housewife.

Reasons for Not Working

While six out of ten married women in this survey panel were not employed in 1975, the evidence thus far does not support the old either-or view of marriage and career for women or the view that marriage itself is an obstacle or deterrent to employment. During the early period after college, women's peak years for marriage and peak years for employment overlapped. By the time of the latest follow-up survey, some married women graduates had already returned to work, a few were seeking employment, the majority had definite plans to return to work, and less than one in ten planned definitely not to become employed. Rather than pointing to marriage itself as a deterrent, the chronology of events suggests two possible alternative explanations. First, the fact that withdrawal from the work force coincided with childbearing (not marriage) patterns suggests that many women left

temporarily to raise children. Second, the periods of peak childbearing appear to coincide with the married couple's increased financial security due to the husband's completion of studies and job internship, and this financial security could have been an inducement to less career-oriented women both to begin childbearing and to leave their jobs.

Table 6

PREFERRED ARRANGEMENT OF HOUSEWIFE AND EMPLOYMENT ACTIVITIES,[a/] BY MARITAL STATUS (Baccalaureate Women)
(In Percentages)

PREFERRED ARRANGEMENT	*MARRIED*	*SEPARATED, DIVORCED, WIDOWED*	*SINGLE*
Housewife only	15	10	10
Housewife with occasional employment	38	33	32
Regular employment now or later	48	57	58
Housewife for a few years, employment later	*28*	*13*	*10*
Housewife with regular employment	*17*	*35*	*31*
Employment only	*3*	*9*	*17*

[a/] *The question on preferred arrangement of housewife and employment activities was asked in 1971.*

It would be difficult, in looking at respondents' own reasons for not working, to draw the conclusion that anything close to a majority of these women perceived marriage to be a constraint or obstacle to their career (Table 7). Only 11% reported that their spouse discouraged their employment. Almost two-thirds of the non-employed married women did not want to be working at the present time. One-fourth indicated that they prefer volunteer or community activity, and a full 93% indicated that they were involved in home or child care voluntarily. However, these figures also show that they were not totally free of conflicting feelings. If almost all were involved voluntarily with home or child care, it is obvious that a good many of the one-third who did want to be working were in this category--that is, they wanted to work but made a decision to care for home and children instead. Small minorities also reported difficulties in returning to work, such as inability to find part-time work or suitable employment, and a few were apprehensive about the job search.

The few non-employed women respondents who were single or separated, divorced, or widowed reported reasons for not working that differed dramatically from those of their married classmates. Almost half of these two groups (compared with just 5% of married women) had gone back to school and were currently involved in continuing education. More of these two groups were unemployed because of difficulty finding a suitable job. About one-third of the non-employed single women cited voluntary home or child care (presumably in their parental home) as a reason for not working. But some of these women also indicated that they would like to be working. The single women also were more likely than others to cite health problems.

TABLE 7

REASONS FOR NOT WORKING, BY MARITAL STATUS
(Baccalaureate Women Not Employed)
(In Percentages)

REASONS	*MARRIED*	*SEPARATED, DIVORCED, WIDOWED*	*SINGLE*
Do not want to be employed at present	63	44	19
Involved with home or child care (voluntarily)	93	5	35
Prefer volunteer or community activity	24	9	8
Would like a part-time job but can't find one	12	9	8
Spouse discourages employment	11	4	0
Am seeking job but can't find suitable one	6	17	16
Enrolled in school	5	48	49
Traveling, vacationing for extended time	3	9	8
Would like to be employed, but am apprehensive about seeking work	3	0	8
Involved with home or child care because am unable to find substitute care	3	4	0
Am not seeking work because I feel that I would be unable to find a job	3	0	3
Moved to a new location, haven't found job	3	13	0
Illness, accident, or health problems	1	4	14
Was released from my job due to a company cutback	0	4	5
Other	5	17	16

Married Women in the Work Force

It is apparent from the experiences, plans, and preferences of married women graduates that, by fourteen years after college entry (about nine or ten years after graduation), the number who ultimately will combine marriage and employment has yet to be reached. Perhaps this is why few dramatic differences show up in Table 8 between those who, in 1975, combined marriage and career and those who did not. Table 8 examines aspects of the college background, self-concept and preferences, and marriage and childbearing patterns of four groups of married women: those who stayed in the work force (employed in both 1971 and 1975), those who entered or returned, those who left the work force, and those who stayed out (were not employed in either 1971 or 1975).

College background--Working and nonworking married women reported similar college backgrounds. No one group performed more successfully than others in college, and no group could be readily distinguished from others on the basis of their study fields. There was a slight tendency for women to be more likely to work if they majored in business or natural sciences.

Self concept and preferences--Working women were more career-oriented and achievement-oriented than nonworking women. The most career-oriented group clearly comprised those who were employed in both 1971 and 1975. Of this group, 51% rated themselves above average on drive to achieve compared with 37% of the stay-outs (the least career-oriented group). Although the differences are not

Table 8

PROFILE OF EMPLOYED AND NON-EMPLOYED MARRIED BACCALAUREATE WOMEN
(In Percentages)

CHARACTERISTICS	*EMPLOYED IN 1975*		*NOT EMPLOYED IN 1975*	
	EMPLOYED IN 1971 (Stayed in)	*NOT EMPLOYED IN 1971 (Entered or Returned)*	*EMPLOYED IN 1971 (Left)*	*NOT EMPLOYED IN 1971 (Stayed out)*
College Grades				
B+ or better	25	21	22	24
B	39	41	37	37
B- or less	37	39	41	39
College Major				
Arts & humanities	31	35	33	32
Social sciences	24	23	26	26
Natural sciences	18	12	15	14
Business, accounting	5	6	4	2
Education	22	24	22	25
Rate Self Above Average On				
Drive to achieve	51	43	48	37
Intellectual self-confidence	39	32	34	32
Social self-confidence	27	24	29	24
Year of First Marriage				
Before 1965	24	27	11	17
1965	17	29	22	32
1966	13	18	22	23
Later	46	26	45	29
Had Children by 1965	23	20	10	11
Preferred Arrangement In 1971				
Housewife only	6	11	12	23
Housewife with occasional employment	36	38	50	36
Housewife for a few years, employment later	13	42	20	37
Housewife with regular employment	39	8	17	4
Employment only	6	1	2	1

substantial, it does appear that those who worked either in 1971 or 1975 believed they had greater intellectual and social self-confidence than those who stayed out of the work force.

The pattern of preferred work arrangements corresponds to some extent to the way these women actually had arranged their lives. The stay-ins preferred to keep working either regularly or occasionally rather than to take a few years' leave. Those who entered or returned to the work force between 1971 and 1975 were most likely to prefer the arrangement which they had actualized already--to take a job after a few years of being a full-time housewife (42%). In addition, 38% preferred to combine housewife activities with occasional employment. This latter arrangement dominated the preferences of married women who left the work force between 1971 and 1975. Perhaps many in this group were irregularly employed and did not happen to hold a job at the time of the 1975 survey; to the extent that some may not have changed their lifestyle, the group cannot truly be considered defectors. The stay-outs, as one might expect, included the highest proportion who preferred not to work at all (23%) and the lowest proportion who would have preferred to combine housewife activities with regular employment immediately (4%). However, 36% preferred occasional employment and 37% indicated that they would like to take a job after a few years; thus, many of this group might be expected to join the work force in later years.

Marriage and childbearing--The timing of marriage and childbearing once again appears to influence employment patterns. It was seen that childbearing and withdrawal from the work force appeared to be associated. Similarly, Table 8 shows that those employed in 1971 included relatively high proportions of women who married late. In addition, those employed in 1975 included relatively many women who had children early; some may have left the work force during the early childbearing years and returned by the time of the survey.

Table 9

MARRIAGE AND CHILDBEARING PATTERNS, BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF MARRIED BACCALAUREATE WOMEN NOT EMPLOYED IN 1971
(In Percentages)

	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME 1975	*EMPLOYED PART-TIME 1975*	*NOT EMPLOYED 1975*
Year of Marriage			
Before 1965	34	23	17
1965	19	33	32
1966	19	17	23
1967	11	12	15
1968	8	5	7
1969 or later	8	9	7
Children by 1965			
Yes	30	16	11
No	70	84	89

This latter relationship is seen more clearly on closer examination of employment status and marriage and childbearing patterns of those who entered or returned to the work force between 1971 and 1975 (Table 9). The earlier the marriage and childbearing, the greater the likelihood of full-time employment. About one-third of those who returned to full-time work were married and had children by 1965; in contrast, only 11% of those who were not employed had children by 1965. Returning to work on a part-time basis seems to be associated with marriage and childbearing patterns that, chronologically, fall in-between those of the full-time workers and non-employed women. Part-time work may be a preferred first step back into the work force as children reach school age and may be an important facilitator of the shift in status for women with children. However, it appears that part-tim or flexibly-scheduled work is hard to find; while 18% of the married women held part-time jobs (Table 3), another 12% reported that they had been unable to find this kind of work arrangement (Table 7).

Job Satisfaction

Although the survey data do not indicate whether women who combined marriage and career were happier than other women with their lives as a whole, they do show that these women were more satisfied with their jobs than those who were employed but not married. Moreover, this higher proportion of satisfied individuals among those who were married was observed for both women and men (Table 10). Among married women, 59% were very satisfied with their job; among single women, 48% were very satisfied. The difference between married and single men is even greater; 61% of the former were very satisfied compared with 40% of the latter.

Table 10

JOB SATISFACTION BY MARITAL STATUS (Baccalaureate Women and Men)
(In Percentages)

	WOMEN			*MEN*		
JOB SATISFACTION IN 1975	*MARRIED*	*SEPARATED, DIVORCED, WIDOWED*	*SINGLE*	*MARRIED*	*SEPARATED, DIVORCED, WIDOWED*	*SINGLE*
Very	59	56	48	61	46	40
Somewhat	37	36	46	37	47	53
Not at all	4	8	6	3	7	7

One hypothesis tested was that married women in this panel were more satisfied than singles because the nature of their work and their own personal make-up happened to be associated with career satisfaction. The results in Table 11 do not supoort this hypothesis. Relationships were examined between job satisfaction of marrieds and singles and three factors previously found to be important predictors of job satisfaction for the panel as a whole: salary, utilization of skills, and drive to achieve. Overall, two major conclusions can be drawn from Table 11. First, women were more satisfied--regardless of all other factors--if they were married. Second, the difference between married and single women on job satisfaction was accentuated among those who received the lowest salaries and who rated themselves as having low drive to achieve. These patterns were

observed for men as well. Being married seems to exert an independent influence, perhaps by increasing the positiveness of one's outlook on life and perhaps by compensating for negative aspects of the job, thus enabling these aspects to be overlooked. For individuals with low drive to achieve, the family may serve as an alternative focus of interest, again minimizing the importance of negative features.

Table 11

PERCENT "VERY SATISFIED" WITH JOB, BY THREE PREDICTORS[a] AND MARITAL STATUS (Baccalaureate Women and Men)

PREDICTOR	*WOMEN*		*MEN*	
	MARRIED	*SINGLE*	*MARRIED*	*SINGLE*
Salary				
$20,000 or more	84	86	73	67
$14,000 - $19,999	69	55	56	44
$10,000 - $13,999	55	47	51	33
$ 9,999 or less	59	36	50	29
Skills are fully utilized				
Yes	81	73	81	65
No	45	35	51	34
Drive to Achieve (self-rating)				
Above average	61	56	65	46
Average	58	46	54	37
Below average	62	33	51	28

[a] *Regression analyses isolated salary, utilization of skills, and drive to achieve as positive predictors of job satisfaction among respondents as a whole (Bisconti and Solmon, 1977, Table 9); that is, higher salary, utilization of skills, or drive to achieve significantly increased the probability of higher job satisfaction.*

Table 12

PERCENT "VERY SATISFIED" WITH JOB, BY 1971 PREFERRED ARRANGEMENT OF HOUSEWIFE AND EMPLOYMENT ACTIVITIES AND BY MARITAL STATUS (Baccalaureate Women)

PREFERRED ARRANGEMENT IN 1971	*MARRIED*	*SEPARATED, DIVORCED, WIDOWED*	*SINGLE*
Housewife only	54	60	59
Housewife with occasional employment	57	46	44
Housewife for a few years, employment later	64	47	56
Housewife with regular employment	62	71	49
Employment only	54	50	37

One might expect to find that women who, in 1971, expressed a preference for not working would be less satisfied on the job than others, but this was not the case. Married women who had preferred to be housewives only were as satisfied as those who had preferred employment only (Table 12). Among single women, those who had preferred to be housewives only were much more satisfied with their jobs than those who had sought employment only. It is possible that those who sought employment without marriage gave high importance to career success and, thus, were satisfied less easily with jobs that did not measure up to their expectations.

Table 13

HOME OR CHILD CARE AS A REASON FOR NOT ENROLLING IN GRADUATE SCHOOL
(Baccalaureate Women and Men)
(In Percentages)

	WOMEN	*MEN*
Home or child care was a reason for not entering graduate school:	15	10
Had planned graduate study	*4*	*3*
Had not planned graduate study	*11*	*7*
Home or child care was not a reason for not entering graduate school	85	90

Table 14

JOB SATISFACTION, BY FULFILLMENT OF DEGREE ASPIRATIONS
(Baccalaureate Women)
(In Percentages)

JOB SATISFACTION	*SOUGHT BACHELOR'S DEGREE ONLY*	*SOUGHT HIGHER DEGREE*
Very	57	52
Somewhat	38	43
Not at all	6	5

Finally the survey responses challenged the belief that early marriage limits ultimate career satisfaction by forcing nonfulfillment of degree aspirations. When the responses to the 1971 survey were tabulated, it was observed that a sizable minority of those who never enrolled for graduate study attributed their non-enrollment to home or child care (El-Khawas and Bisconti, 1974). However, Table 13 shows that a majority of those who gave this reason had not planned graduate study. Thus, for only 4% of women were serious plans actually altered for this reason. Further, Table 14 shows that women whose degree attainment (bachelor's) was less than that to which they had aspired were only slightly less satisfied with their jobs than their classmates who had sought and obtained the baccalaureate level only.

CONCLUSIONS

Even though they attended college at a time when there was much less emphasis than there is today on encouraging women to pursue careers, most women graduates from the 1961 freshman class wanted to combine marriage and career in some way. Fourteen years after college entry, the majority were not working but planned to seek work later. A dominant pattern among the women baccalaureates in this class was to take time off (voluntarily) to rear young children. Marriage itself apparently was not the primary determinant of leaving the work force. Few women were discouraged by their spouses. Not all were satisfied, however, and some revealed conflictive feelings regarding their choice of leaving the work force for home or child care.

With time, many women in this class probably will attempt to actualize their preferred arrangements of marriage and career. Career orientation and self-confidence were somewhat greater among working women than among those not employed in 1975, but there were substantial numbers in the non-employed groups who perceived themselves as above average in their drive to achieve and who wanted and planned to work.

A number of researchers have tried to tease out the complex relationships between satisfaction with work and satisfaction with life (Quinn et al., 1974; Hoppock, 1975). People who are more satisfied with work are also more satisfied with life. Which is the cause and which the effect? Probably, the relationship is not unidirectional. Satisfaction in one area of life reinforces the positive aspects of other areas of life. There is evidence that job satisfaction does not derive solely from the inherent nature of the job, and that people's attitudes and needs play an important part.

The present analyses suggest that people who were married viewed their work more positively than others regardless of their drive to achieve. They were also more satisfied regardless of whether their salary was high or low and regardless of whether or not the job offered the opportunity for full utilization of their skills.

Whatever the dynamics of the relationship between marriage and job satisfaction, the influence appears to be greatest among persons who have relatively low salaries or who do not consider themsevles highly achievement-oriented. One interpretation could be that marriage and family are additional interests and possible sources of satisfaction, and the more interests one has external to the job, the less importance one attributes to negative features of the job. This interpretation supports the new interest in leisure-time activities for their possible beneficial influence on satisfaction with work.

To those pondering the viability of careers (in the sense of paid employment) for married women, the example of the 1961 freshmen should indicate that there are many possible patterns. There is no evidence that any one of these patterns is the right pattern for every woman. However, the findings regarding the high level of job satisfaction of married women (and men) as compared with nonmarried panel respondents, should help to dispel some traditionally-bred fears regarding the effects of combining marriage and career.

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